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ABSTRACT

This paper was commissioned to present a point of view not widely expressed -- that children who live and attend school in "segregated" high economic neighborhoods suffer from such isolation from the reality of the world in which they live. The authors consider the consequences of rearing the affluent young in settings which physically and psychologically isolate them from the realities of American society. Since the initial socialization processes of the young occur in the home and the school, they are the primary focus. First, current educational structures are discussed briefly in terms of the functions of education as traditionally conceived. It is argued that in some crucial respects, the schools and extant housing patterns deny the affluent young an opportunity to acquire and develop essential skills that prepare them to cope with their roles as emerging citizens. Finally, the paper reports on recent research that suggests ways in which schools and housing patterns can be reconceptualized to meet the critical needs of the young. (Author/MLF)

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# THE EFFECTS OF RESIDENTIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ISOLATION ON AFFLUENT YOUTH

Julie Stulac
and
Jeanette Wheeler

EA 006 333

Santa Clara County Component
45 Santa Teresa
San Jose, California 95110

PROJECT SIMU-SCHOOL

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# THE EFFECTS OF RESIDENTIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ISOLATION ON AFFLUENT YOUTH

REPORT NUMBER TWENTY

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45 Santa Teresa Street
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# FOREWORD

Within the broad definition of "educational planning" which has been the basis for all of the efforts of Project Simu School, lie multitudinous aspects of the lives of learners. If, as we have assumed, influences outside the "school system" affect the learning opportunities available to people who want to learn, educational planning must encompass circumstances which promote or impede the learning process.

In cooperation with the Planning Resources Office of the Office of the Santa Clara County Superintendent of Schools, personnel of Project Simu School participated in a community-wide conference on the balanced community. The participants discussed many aspects of community and "neighborhood" life and their influence on school children.

The present paper was commissioned to present a point of view not widely expressed--that children who live and attend school in "segregated" high economic neighborhoods suffer from such isolation from the reality of the world in which they live.

The position paper is presented in the hope that planners may be inspired to examine the future effects of decisions made now in their communities and provide for broader exposure of all learners to mixed and balanced life in their real world.

Lester W. Hunt, Director
Project Simu School: Santa Clara County Component

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## INTRODUCTION

During the past twenty years, the most predictable and consistent characteristic of our world has been its rapid and unusually accelerated change. Two decades have passed since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision was handed down. In those years, we in the United States have experienced man's attempts to explore space, actively participated in a destructive war, witnessed the violence of race riots in our cities, and seen the assassination of several national leaders.

The mass media brought all those events close to every one of us. There now exists the first generation of young adults to be raised on the immediacy of television--they were not protected or isolated from the anguish of their world. Both the good and the bad of their environment have been in focus for them almost since birth. We need to take a closer look at these "children of instant experience."

This electronic generation of young adults, whether they lived in affluent neighborhoods or low-income areas, have had the basis for instant comparison in their homes. They could see and hear almost firsthand the diversities of their world. Ghetto families were shown models of lifestyles and material goods far different from their own--a painful comparison to make between the haves and the have-nots. At the same time, higher income families, and particularly the students, saw that most of the world did not share their comfortable circumstances and they began to question the democratic concepts of equal opportunity and freedom for all. Many of those students became aware of the enormous split between their families, homes and schools, and the rest of the American society.

Beyond the impact of the mass media, several long-range trends emerged that also contributed to this dividedness. American youth have experienced an increased lengthening of their adolescence. The average child born in the late 1800's could expect to attend school a total of 742 days; a child born in 1965 could expect to attend school 2,124 days (Duncan, 1968). Not only are the young going to school longer, but more are attending school. Post-secondary school attendance has increased from 2% of the college-age youth in 1870 to 37% today (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1973). By 1972, 76% of all 18-year-olds had completed high school, and a large portion of the remaining were obtaining equivalency certificates (Levin, 1974). The increases in amount of schooling and number of schooled are tied to a continuing decrease in adolescent employment. In 1945, 64% of all teenagers were employed; by 1962, the rate had decreased to 43% (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1973, p. 71). While legally mandated school attendance terminates at the high school level, entry into most socially valued occupations now requires a college degree. Large numbers of young people, therefore, depend on parental support beyond the point of achieving legal adulthood.

This period of adolescence was coupled with relatively stable economic upgrowth and expansion of the middle and upper middle classes. Because their physical needs were assured, the affluent young of this period of normalcy could afford to look outward. In the mid-sixties,

they witnessed two events which had a profound impact on the country: the burgeoning of the civil rights movement and our growing part in the war in southeast Asia. The young were confronted with a need to translate increased socio-political awareness into action. The cultural, residential, and educational isolation of the affluent youth had not prepared them for this task. Consequently, the avenues chosen and the behaviors exhibited by the young were highly unpredictable.

As a result of the turmoil engendered by the civil rights and antiwar movements, national lifestyles have changed in many ways. There is now greater multi-ethnic representation at most occupational levels. In addition, more people have become professionally specialized while, at the same time, economic and technological developments have reduced the demand for their services. The result is that many people with college degrees and teaching credentials are unemployed. The wealthier segment of the country now knows through experience what the less affluent have always known--the problems of unemployed and underemployed citizens, a tight job market, and lowered hopes for entry into graduate school.

It is of utmost importance, therefore, to consider carefully how the affluent young are being socialized and the consequences of their growing up in a rapidly changing world that is substantially different from that of the previous generation. The mass media assures them instant cognitive knowledge of this world, but it cannot assure them the development of essential coping skills.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the consequences of rearing the affluent young in settings which physically and psychically isolate them from the realities of American society. Since the initial socialization processes of the young occur in the home and the school, they will be our primary focus. First, current educational structures are briefly discussed in terms of the functions of education as traditionally conceived. We argue that in some crucial respects, the schools and extant housing patterns deny the affluent young an opportunity to acquire and develop essential skills that prepare them to cope with their roles as emerging citizens. Finally, we will report on recent research suggesting ways schools and housing patterns can be reconceptualized to meet the critical needs of the young.

## THE CHANGING ROLES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Specific functions and priorities of American public schools have shifted over time. One assumption seems to have held, however, irrespective of time: it is the function of the schools to prepare the young to leave the family and assume an independent role in society (Dreeben, 1968). Dreeben asserts that, in doing this, school provides a link between the private domain of the family and the larger public domain. The school is the single institution which touches the lives of all young Americans. One of its primary goals has always been the transmission of American culture. What is the American culture?

## The American Culture

All of us except native Americans share one characteristic: our ancestors came from someplace else. The greatest percentage of immigrants came from Europe. Others were brought from Africa while another group came from Asia. Approximately 5% of our population is Hispanic in origin. According to the 1970 census, 25% of all Americans are direct immigrants or first-generation Americans. Cross-cutting national origins are religious affiliations, the most common being Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Buddhist, Moslem and Hindu. Slightly more than half the population is female and the same proportion is under the age of 25. Thirty percent of us live in the central cities, another 30% live in rural areas, with the remainder in the suburbs. Some of us are wealthy, more are poor and most are getting along. Our political affiliations stretch from anarchism to the reactionary, with most of us somewhere in between.

It is clear that there are multiple and diverse elements within our society which preclude a notion of a completely integral unidimensional culture. How has the institution of the school dealt with the complexity and diversity of our population?

## The Common School

During the nineteenth century, our country received the largest migration of people in history. The immigrants brought with them an enormous variety of languages, customs and folkways. In an effort to achieve some degree of homogeneity amid this hodgepodge, the common school movement emerged. By promising public-supported, compulsory, tuition-free education, it was hoped that cultural and language differences could be eliminated. Calvin Stowe, school crusader and reformer, spoke to this issue in 1836:

> Let us now be reminded that unless we educate our immigrants, they will be our ruin...It is not merely from the ignorant and vicious foreigner that danger is to be apprehended. To sustain an extended republic like our own, there must be a national feeling, a national assimilation; and nothing could be more fatal to our prospects of future prosperity than to have our population become a congeries of clans, congregating without coalescing, and condemned to contiguity without sympathy...It is altogether essential to our national strength and peace, if not even to our national existence, that the foreigners who settle on our soil should cease to be Europeans and become Americans; and as our national language is English, and as our literature, our manners, and our institutions are of English origin, and the whole foundation of our society is English, it is necessary that they become substantially Anglo-Americans (Tyack, 1967).

Thus, the schools became the primary agents of Americanization. The uniformity across educational institutions that resulted from the common school movement, coupled with the explicit Anglo-centric cultural orientation, was intended to facilitate this process.

## The School as a Factory

As the flood of immigrants began to subside and the shift to a predominantly urban society gained impetus, the schools began to expand and change their focus. Educators felt the need to more efficiently prepare the young for entrance into the working world of an industrial society. Whereas formerly the school was seen as analogous to the family, the factory came to be seen as the appropriate metaphor (Tyack, 1967). Cubberley, the first dean of Stanford University's School of Education, summarized this view:

> Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw materials (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of the twentieth century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils to the specifications laid down. This demands good tools, specialized machinery, continuous measurement of production to see if it is according to specifications, the elimination of waste in manufacture, and a large variety of output (Tyack, 1967).

Cubberley saw the factory analogy as appropriate and functional to the needs of society. The advent of industrialization has introduced broader and more differentiated occupational choices. Because of an increased need for semi-skilled and skilled labor, the curriculum, he felt, should be redesigned.

The key difference of this model from the common school model is the abandonment of a "democratic" notion of school; i.e., of a uniform curriculum for all. The introduction of "tracking" or "streaming," ability grouping, vocational education, etc., could assure the "large variety of output" that Cubberley saw as essential. In addition, of course, this structure tended to keep the poor and nonwhite on the lower levels of the occupational ladder. It was an institutional validation and recognition of the class structure of our society. The failure of the common school to effectively Americanize all immigrant groups and the subsequent realization via the factory model that this could not--and, indeed, perhaps should not--be done, contributed to a freezing of the social order.

## The American Dilemma

The adaptation of the school to the reality of the social order highlighted what Gunnar Myrdal has identified as the American dilemma. As the affluent child progresses through school, the paradox of America

emerges: the ideal vs. the real--an egalitarian creed vs. galloping ethnocentrism.

On the one hand, we have a political creed guaranteeing opportunities for liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness to all; on the other, we have an economic system that assures profit and power for some, loss and impotence for others. On the one hand, we have an ideal which conceptualizes the United States as the ultimate melting pot; on the other, we have ample evidence for the unmeltability of ethnics. We have a perception of schooling as the great equalizer; but there is evidence of vastly different quality among schools due, in part, to unequal property taxes that result in reproducing the established social order. We have the equality of the progressive income tax, but the lower and middle income groups pay through the nose while many of the affluent do not pay due to tax loopholes. What we have is a tension between a creed which stresses universal egalitarian values and a social and economic structure which engenders a particularistic and parochial cultural orientation.

## The Need for a Reconceptualization

This tension is part of our history; it has always been with us, but the effectiveness of mass media has made this tension obvious and inescapable.

A more recent social and economic challenge involves the rapid proliferation of knowledge and the equally rapid development of technology. Whereas in the past schools could to some extent serve to prepare individuals for specific occupational roles, these roles are now changing so quickly that it is impossible to predict from year to year what jobs will be available. The assumption of a predictable future is no longer valid. Ronald Corwin has observed, "It is estimated that one-half of the jobs now available to high school graduates were not in existence when they were in sixth grade, and they will not be in existence in ten years" (Corwin, 1965). Another faulty assumption is that a high school or college diploma will be sufficient to carry the worker through several years on the job. More and more workers at all levels are requiring further training just to stay abreast of the demands of their positions.

Another factor affecting the nature of current society is the shift to a post-industrial society in which factory occupations become less important and service occupations become more important. While technical skills are still needed, success is becoming increasingly dependent on interpersonal skills. Getting the job done is requiring more personal interaction as the cultural and ethnic diversity of work groups is increasing. These trends are common knowledge, but formal opportunities to acquire and develop interpersonal skills are generally not available, particularly to our affluent young. That is, youngsters who live and go to school in segregated neighborhoods are denied the opportunity to meet and interact with those who are significantly different from themselves. They thus grow up in an environment very different from the occupational and social environment which they will enter after they finish school.

## THE ALIENATION OF AFFLUENT ADOLESCENTS

Are the young really being prepared for productive adulthood? Does the historical conceptualization of schooling meet the needs of today's middle class youth? Although these questions have not been empirically examined, we do have data to support the consequences of serious dysfunctions in our modern socialization process, which certainly includes the educational process. The symptoms of alienation can be substantiated by figures dealing with delinquency, drug abuse, and suicide rates. Many middle class teenagers have chosen to demonstrate their dissatisfaction by turning to alternative life styles.

### Alternative Life Styles

It is extremely difficult for most adults to rethink long-held expectations and then to reshape their lives to fit new values. But many of our young have recognized and reacted to the disjunction between traditional values and expectations and the larger social reality. According to Richard Flacks:

> "...the student movement (is) an expression of deep discontent felt by certain types of high status youths as they confront the incongruities between the values represented by the authority and occupational structure of the larger society and the values inculcated by their families and peer culture." (1967, p. 72)

These children of professionals and businessmen could exercise the options that affluence brings and go straight through school to an establishment job. Many, however, have chosen to "drop out" of school, or society, "stop out" on their way to adulthood, or "cop out" through drugs, delinquency or destruction. For a large number of these youngsters, the impetus for pursuing alternative patterns has been an idealism generated by a growing indignation at existing social injustices. By volunteering for the Peace Corps or Vista, or by attempting to redefine the family structure through communal living, these young people sought to constructively participate in a community life. Their original communities and institutions segregated them from contacts with different socio-economic classes, different age groups, and different cultures. It is not surprising that students physically withdrew from suburbia to try to help solve problems of ghettos, underdeveloped nations, and communes. For many, their efforts at experimentation were positively viewed by their teachers and parents, and in the end many return to more traditional patterns.

The signs of the serious, long-range distress of affluent youth are clearly seen in the figures on what is considered to be anti-social behavior. For example, the high school and college demonstrations between 1964 and 1970 were especially prevalent among the young from upper middle class homes. The most unruly high schools were not in the central cities, but in large suburban high schools (81% to 94%) (Horn and Knott, 1971).

## Delinquency and Class

Who are the young people who have made anti-establishment decisions and become statistics in the juvenile courts? It is somehow understandable to us that low-income, minority youth may be involved in criminal activities. We rationalize this behavior by pointing out that frequently the available models for these children are criminals and that crime is a direct means to satisfy immediate desires for material possessions.

According to the 1973 crime rate figures, however, there is no escape into protected suburbia. In six cities with one million or more persons, between 1972 and 1973, violent crimes have decreased by 4.1% and destruction of property by 14.1% (Encyclopedia Britannica, Yearbook, 1974). The suburban areas showed an increase of 11.5% in violent crimes and a 1.2% increase in property damage.

Research studies have shown that children from the lower class who commit offenses are more likely to be arrested than are middle and upper income children who commit similar offenses. This makes the official delinquency records unreliable as an index of delinquent behavior, especially in the upper strata. Crimes there are often covered up or charges are reduced through intervention of moneyed parents or skilled lawyers. The overall pattern of delinquent behavior suggests that children from low-income areas are over-represented for offenses involving personal gain, truancy, and personal injury to others. Children from higher income areas are more likely to come in to court for property offenses, such as vandalism, that do not lead to personal gain, or for the violation of rules concerning driving, drinking and curfews.

A study of self-reported delinquent behavior from 3,100 14-to-18 year olds in Illinois showed no sharp differences across social class or size of community. The respondents were categorized by sex, race, age, socio-economic class, family organization, and size of community. Classifications of delinquency were general deviance, property crimes, violence, automobile violations, and drug abuse. This study (Rivera, 1973) supports earlier data from research conducted in several midwestern and western small cities, suburban and rural communities. In that study, Nye, Short and Olsen attempted to discover if juvenile delinquency was disproportionately distributed across socio-economic levels. Their sample of nearly 3,000 high school subjects was divided into four economic levels ranging from unskilled labor to professional and large business. Twenty-one types of delinquency were identified and their frequency categorized. Examination of their data reveals a definite pattern existing when the two middle classes are combined. The two extremes, the lower socio-economic and the upper, reported the highest proportion of delinquent acts committed.

While no one can give clear cut reasons for juvenile delinquency, we can speculate that some adolescents without a strong sense of identity and a motivating sense of purpose commit anti-social acts because of their deep-seated alienation. That alienation is intensified when students perceive their schools and their communities to be an unreal representation of the larger world.

## Self-Destructive Behavior

The vandalism and crimes of upper class youth are outward-directed acts; the self-destructive behavior of the young is a choice made with no options. Many affluent adolescents dropped out of their irrelevant world by using drugs, a problem that has been part of the ghetto culture for a long time. It was only in the mid-1960s, when drugs became popular among middle and upper class youth and young adults, that the social effects of enforcement began giving rise to questions about public drug abuse policy.

In 1972, the National Institute of Mental Health reported that drugs appeared to be considered an appropriate solution for every minor tension and problem of young people--young people who, everyday, were faced with the example of adults indulging freely in alcohol, tobacco and other drugs. The report states that the "roots (of drug use) lie in the human misery and frustration of ghetto life; in the alienation of large numbers of youth; in the normal curiosity, risk taking, experimenting and rebellion of youth."

The escape that drugs afford the young may not be needed for the same reasons by all social classes or by all individuals within a social class. As in delinquent behavior, we can understand the desire of lower class youth for the instant amnesia of drugs to block out their impoverished surroundings. But a surprisingly high level of drug involvement was found in a 1967 research study of 2,500 high school students in the "model" upper class community of Great Neck, New York. One affluent student described his own and his friends' reasons for using drugs by saying, "It's partly a feeling of helplessness, that everything is wrong with the world and there's nothing we can do about it." (Vaz, 1967)

In the late 1960s, marijuana experimentation and usage was more concentrated among youths from comparatively affluent, school-oriented families: usage was 19% among suburban youths and 13% among city youths. Those from families earning $10,000 or more were three times as likely to have used marijuana as those from families with income under $10,000 (Josephson, 1971). Although the percentages appear low, the point remains that usage is more prevalent in higher income areas.

## The Ultimate Disenchantment

Any discussion of alternatives chosen by disenchanted youth must include the ultimate "turning off" behavior--suicide. In California, for both males and females between the ages of 15-24, suicide is the second leading cause of death. The rate more than doubled in the years 1960-1970. The reasons are varied and complex, but some patterns can be discerned. Most suicides tend to have difficulties in managing normal interaction responsibilities, they express feelings of total alienation and helplessness and cannot effectively deal with familial or academic stress (Allen, 1973). At the same time, the suicide rates for young black males are also increasing, particularly in the early 20s age group. The National Institute of Mental Health suggests that this is an indication of the rigidity of occupational opportunities, and the frustrations

felt by not being able to cope with a restrictive and repressive system (NIMH, 1973).

Researchers have also found that the highest rates apparently occur in the extremes of the socio-economic class spectrum. Again, the pattern appears that was evident in the delinquent behavior studies. The alienated young at the farthest ends of the class continuum seem to be the most affected by the frustrating lack of control over their own lives. It seems that the rebellion of the nation's youth takes many forms. There is a serious and growing problem of learning to cope in a society that moves too fast to condition its members to adequate coping mechanisms. A rapidly changing urban, industrialized society creates a situation that intensifies anomic behavior in adolescents. They are denied the opportunity and responsibility to be involved in decision making; they are disoriented and confused by conflicting values of competition and cooperation, individualism and conformity. It is no wonder that teenagers, in particular, tend to withdraw, rebel, or grasp at the values of a counter culture.

## Traditional Life Styles

Admittedly, the majority of students are not hippies, yippies, addicts or activists. It now seems that student unrest--or at least the overt activity--has subsided. This may be due to the apparent end of the fighting in Southeast Asia, the granting of the 18-year-old vote, and the tight job market. Students today, especially those now in college, seem more concerned about their job future than about reforming society.

What does the world of work look like? Is it a single class, mono-cultural environment similar to the neighborhoods and schools our youth have been nurtured in? This paper argues that there is no longer an escape from the cultural pluralism of our country, particularly in the occupational sphere. The young who follow in the footsteps of their parents may go to the "best" colleges, marry, and send their "right" number of children to the segregated school in their segregated neighborhood. At work, however, they will have to interact with all classes and races of people. In the hours spent at work--a large part of the individual's life--the people who are most successful are those who are most skilled in human relations. Professionals or businessmen may have clients, patients, and customers from all levels of society, and more and more of their colleagues will be from diverse backgrounds. Murray Milner (1973), examining the data for employed males in the U.S. labor force, 1960 to 1970, found that although nonwhites were under-represented in the business community and craft unions, they were over-represented in the professions, sales and clerical positions. There is no question that lower socio-economic and minority movement into upper level occupations is on the increase.

What will be the nature of these daily working contacts if our children continue to be isolated in their economically and racially separated schools and neighborhoods? We should re-examine Gordon Allport's classic work, The Nature of Prejudice (1954). As a result of studying five

residential zones in Chicago, he concluded that where white residents encounter more blacks, there are fewer complaints and fears; those who are in the more remote zones, with little knowledge-giving contact, expressed a great deal of apprehension based solely on stereotyped views of blacks.

Allport's discussion of occupational contact supports what is still being said twenty years later: "Only the type of contact that leads people to do things together is likely to result in changed attitudes." (Allport, 1954, p. 264) At school and at work and in communities, common participation and common interests make the difference.

Neither our schools nor our communities are yet sufficiently mixed to offer many chances for multi-cultural endeavor. One hope has been in the occupational contact supported by federal legislation. The Fair Employment Practices Commission established by Franklin Roosevelt, the more recent Equal Employment Opportunities Act, and the resulting affirmative action programs have combined to encourage a higher percentage of minority hiring at higher level occupations than at any time in our history. In addition, retraining programs at all levels of work have been implemented. Although the differences between nonwhite and white employment are still great, the trend has been set and is not likely to be reversed.

If our youth enter the job market with the kind of stereotyped views documented by Allport, it will not be long before they discover a desperate need for skills in intergroup relations. The mushrooming of corporate human relations programs in recent years is a dramatic response to that need. Industry has been seriously trying to improve efficiency in bureaucratic functioning by improving the basis of interpersonal communication. With their T-group techniques, the National Training Laboratories have worked with top-echelon executives in an effort to develop self-awareness as well as acceptance of others and sensitivity toward them. The movement has spread to incorporate many kinds of people and techniques. Transactional analysis, Esalen encounters, Gestalt groups--in fact, "groups" of all shapes and sizes--are being tried by thousands of middle class and upper class citizens.

One analysis is presented by Chris Argyris, professor of education at Harvard University, who discusses the theories and the practical applications of effective executive behavior in his book, Personality and Organizations (1957). He focuses on the survival of humans in rigid organizations and the necessity for all employees to recognize that multi-level interaction does exist. Training in human relations has been found to be a major factor toward reducing conflict between individuals in an organization.

It seems a sad commentary on the times that developing human relations skills is not integral to our lives, built into our childhood contacts with neighbors and classmates. Instead, learning to communicate with people from all socio-economic and racial groups has to be taught to adults so that they will succeed in the world of work.

SCHOOL RECONSIDERED

An obvious place to begin the skill training necessary in working cooperatively and interpersonally in social and occupational domains is the school. Unlike the family, it is a place where the exposure to others different from ourselves can occur and it is also a place where peers can meet together and develop successful interpersonal styles. For the most part, schools are not, however, capable of doing this today. Many schools are so homogeneous that students are not exposed to others different from themselves. And even in schools that are ethnically and socio-economically balanced, ability grouping and tracking procedures encourage little potential interaction among sub-groups. The poor and the ethnically different tend to dominate the lower tracks while the Anglo-affluent dominate the higher tracks. There are innumerable data which confirm the correlation between ethnicity and/or socio-economic status and academic achievement. Just as our competitive economic system insures winners and losers, so our schools insure winners and losers.

Mercer (1971) has conducted a series of studies which document the cultural bias of currently available diagnostic and assessment instruments. Her work has provided an explanation for the uneven distribution of ethnic group members across ability groups. She categorized black and Chicano students along a five-point scale designed to indicate proximity to the modal Anglo-American population on which the tests are normed. She discovered that the greater the number of modal characteristics held by a child, the more the I.Q. average matched those of the Anglo-American population. That is, children who possessed only one modal characteristic scored lower than expected, while the scores for the black and Chicano children who possessed all five modal characteristics did not differ from those of their white counterparts.

Although Mercer's study did not address the issue of bias among white subjects, it would be reasonable to assume that white students could probably be differentiated in a similar way. That is, those at the upper ranges of the test curve probably share more modal characteristics than do those in the lower ranges. The importance of this work lies in its exposure of I.Q. tests as less a measure of cognitive development than of socio-cultural orientation.

As mentioned above, schools are unique in that they can serve as mediums for exposure to a variety of people and can serve as contexts for the development of interpersonal skills. Philip Jackson (1973) would add that schools are uniquely equipped to provide children with a highly interactive environment and can also give them a sense of continuity. He points out that when a relatively large number of individuals are enclosed in a rather small space, there is the opportunity to exchange thoughts, feelings and ideas at many different stages, more than can be offered by a single family. In addition, school can be a place where the foundation for progressively more complex activities can be established. By preparing for activities that in themselves lead somewhere, the school can provide a sense of continuity.

If we accept the assumption that the world of work is requiring more and more complex patterns of interaction, then this assertion of a unique function of the school is especially important. School can prepare the young for a future that includes substantial social and occupational contact with a variety of people but only if the school community reflects the total community. It is critical that the school neighborhood itself be balanced socio-economically and socio-culturally. Though busing could create a temporary balance during the school day, it does not permit the development of ongoing relationships among students. The advantages that accrue through sport and social contacts before and after school cannot be attained for youngsters who live great distances from one another.

There is evidence that the white, affluent young are not now being prepared for participation in the total community. Cohen (1970) discovered that when black and white youngsters come together to work cooperatively in groups, the whites tend to dominate the discussions and heavily influence the direction of the tasks. This occurred in groups where the students had met for the first time and where their only immediately apparent distinction was the color of their skin. She concluded that these results were obtained because of a socially built-in belief by both groups in white domination. Further studies revealed that when the expectations for task-oriented performance by blacks were altered, interaction patterns became balanced. That is, in groups where both blacks and white recognized and legitimized active black performance, interaction was evenly distributed across groups.

In a related study by Bloom (1972), the outcome measures were extended to account for quality of contributions. She reported that task decisions were superior in groups that exhibited this balanced interaction. Individuals who allow stereotyped views of people to set expectations for performance are shortchanging themselves.

Cohen's laboratory findings were translated to a field setting two years ago in an experimental summer school. She recruited a student body and staff evenly divided between white and black. Most of the white students were from relatively affluent families, and several attended private schools. By using an essentially cooperative curriculum and group-oriented work settings, Cohen found that academic curiosity and satisfaction by students could be obtained in an interracial setting. Of greatest interest is the analysis of the social climate. At the beginning of the six-week session, the white children were frightened and displayed a marked absence of coping skills. Initially, they were quite unable to deal with any assertive behavior on the part of their classmates. It took several days for their unrealistic expectations to break down. Eventually, after many cooperative experiences, norms emerged that reflected values of both groups. It became a place where the "ghettoized" whites and blacks could begin to alter their distorted notions of reality, a place where the gap between creed and deed could begin to lessen.

Such an experience can counteract the handicaps of growing up in a segregated neighborhood; it promoted a sense of efficacy in a "complex, interactive, multi-ethnic world, undergoing intergroup tension and conflict " (Citron, 1969).

If our children are ever going to feel efficacious at work, in varied social situations, and even in visiting the larger cities of this country, they need experience with people different from themselves. Our social order has often dealt with diversity by segregation: a student with high test scores is tracked into academic courses, physically handicapped children go to special schools, old people are sent to retirement homes. We need to recognize the diversities of our world to involve ourselves in them and to appreciate them.

We have evolved a long distance from the kind of interaction that characterized a rural town. As an urbanized, post-industrial nation, we need to change our institutions to fit our changing society. We have always had cultural diversity; we have always had the unmeltable ethnics; we have always had the poor. At times in our history, it has been advantageous to recognize the differences and at other times equally advantageous to ignore them. Now we no longer have a choice. If our children are to be able to interact with mutual satisfaction in the future, they must acquire the skills to do so. In this sense, white upper class suburban youth are disadvantaged and their schools are unable to help them fulfill their human potential. The sociologist, Kenneth Clark, calls them "reality deprived." They have demonstrated their disenchantment with their lives through acting out their feelings of aimlessness and helplessness. The increase in middle class delinquency and evidence of self-destructive behavior support this thesis.

This affluent generation of adolescents does not view economic security as the primary goal that their parents did, because they have always had that security. They have questioned the socialization process that taught them to believe that economic success in our society is a validation of one's intrinsic worth. In school, many of them have been turned off by a system that measures and validates their personal worth on the basis of high test scores.

Schools are in trouble and the crisis is likely to continue until we have come to terms with the new relationship of people to things, and to other people, implied by the developing technology. Breaking the cycle of discrimination, ignorance, and caste hinges on breaking the more basic cycle of cultural isolation and separation. Quality education can only be attained through equal and integrated education. That equality will become a reality only when our culturally pluralistic society, and in particular, our educational system, attacks the larger social problem of segregated housing.

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